THE WISDOM OF WOODROW WILSON

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The Wisdom of Woodrow Wilson

The Wisdom of Woodrow Wilson

BEING SELECTIONS FROM HIS THOUGHTS AND COMMENTS ON POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND MORAL QUESTIONS

COMPILED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By CHARLES J. HEROLD

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PREFACE

WHAT are the strange powers that have made of a one-time teacher of youth a supreme leader of men, a universally acclaimed champion of freedom for all the world?

A well-stored mind, a pitiless logic, a retentive memory, a felicitous turn of phrase, a wisdom serene yet vibrant, a happy gift of coining aphorisms containing *multum in parvo*, a statesmanlike grasp of affairs, an eloquent tongue that never fails, an interpretation of advanced thought in an era fermenting with new ideas, a tireless energy and enormous driving force,—when one speaks of these excellent and choice qualities, one has but scratched the surface. The core of his being, his inmost soul, has not been touched upon.

In Woodrow Wilson is met that

rarest of human combinations—consistency coupled with lucid vision, high ideals and crystal-pure sincerity. That furnishes the key to his singular character.

When his record is searched, when the four decades that have gone since he first drank knowledge at the bosom of his alma mater are scanned closely, the astounding discovery is made that the convictions, the longings of his early days are his convictions of to-day; that his ideals then are his ideals now; that the Americanism of his youth is also the Americanism of his manhood; that his love of country and of humanity has unvariedly remained the same in intensity, in kind, in loftiness of conception, in purity of purpose and in grandeur of aim. With increasing maturity his faith in the vision of his youth increased. Truly, the boy

dreamer, dreamed profoundly, for he awakened and found his dream world real.

The germ of his gospel of world-peace and world-righteousness as it found final and finished expression in those fourteen points that are at this very hour the text for a body of this earth's most powerful statesmen to wrestle with, to ponder, and in the main to accede to, is to be seen in his earliest, still somewhat callow writings, in his book on *Congressional Government*. The germ gradually develops and grows in size, but its essence remains the same.

Like a scarlet thread it runs through the woof of all his subsequent political reflections, his essays, his political speeches, his lectures, his commentaries on international affairs, on the mission of America. Many years later, in his

book dealing with *Constitutional Government in the United States*, the idea expands, shows deeper insight and more vigorous roots, and in *The State*, an admirable *exposé* of governmental science and imbued with an enlightened humanitarianism, it has attained a further growth. Finally, in his orations and addresses delivered since the outbreak of the war in the summer of 1914, the last fruition of it is seen in his "League of Nations," and in the principles laid down by him for a durable, just peace.

True, the scope of his survey has widened; his eye now discerns in clearer outline what at first was beheld but dimly. His diction has gained in pith, in strength, in authority, and his images in color and variety. He has a firmer grasp of his subject, betraying the ceaseless thought given to it, and his

eye ranges a larger horizon. But his ideal is still the same. He proves true to his early loves: enlightened democracy, freedom for a shackled world, fraternal help to the purblind, struggling nations, whether near or far, the rule of the law throughout the two hemispheres.

It is the dogma of America, of America at her best. It embraces justice, justice even to the vanquished foe, justice tempered with mercy. It is a broadening of Lincoln's doctrine, an elaboration including all the peoples of the universe. No wonder that Abraham Lincoln dwells so firmly in Woodrow Wilson's heart, that he finds such high praise for him in his speech and in his writings: that he holds him, next to Washington, the greatest American. For he himself is bone of Lincoln's bone, and flesh of his flesh.

But Woodrow Wilson's style presents a marked contrast. It shows the wide and ripened culture of the man. It embraces all literature. It is precise, ornate, full of metaphor, picturesque, scarcely ever homely, such as that of the great Illinoisan. It is not even homely when dallying with lighter fancy, with anecdote and fireside tale. Nevertheless, it possesses great charm. It teems with quotable sayings. And its fund of illustration is great. Serious, thoughtful, a vein of high morality tincturing it, the wisdom taught by Woodrow Wilson is yet never morose or esoteric, but highly practical. And of course, since his manhood as teacher and statesman has chiefly concerned itself with political problems, it is there that the lessons he conveys are most potent and most pointed.

NOTE

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PATRIOTISM

National reconciliation

WE have found one another again as brothers and comrades in arms, enemies no longer, generous friends rather, our battles long past, the quarrel forgotten—except that we shall not forget the splendid valor, the manly devotion of the men then arrayed against one another, now grasping hands and smiling into each other's eyes. How complete the union has become and how dear to all of us, how unquestioned, how benign and majestic, as State after State has been added to this our great family of free men!

Delivered in the presence of Union and Confederate veterans, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg, July 4, 1913.

Practical patriotism

LIBERTY does not consist, my fellow-citizens, in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It

consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action. We must reduce it to what the lawyers call a bill of particulars. It contains a bill of particulars, but the bill of particulars of 1776. If we would keep it alive, we must fill it with a bill of particulars of the year 1914. Patriotism consists in some very practical things—practical in that they belong to the life of every day, that they wear no extraordinary distinction about them, that they are connected with commonplace duty. The way to be patriotic in America is not only to love America but to love the duty that lies nearest to our hand and know that in performing it we are serving our country.

It is patriotic, also, to learn what the facts of our national life are and to face them with candor.

It is not patriotic to concert meas-

ures against one another; it is patriotic to concert measures for one another.

In one sense the Declaration of Independence has lost its significance. It has lost its significance as a declaration of national independence. Nobody outside of America believed when it was uttered that we could make good our independence; now nobody anywhere would dare to doubt that we are independent and can maintain our independence. As a declaration of independence, therefore, it is a mere historic document. Our independence is a fact so stupendous that it can be measured only by the size and energy and variety and wealth and power of one of the greatest nations in the world.

I would be ashamed of this flag if it ever did anything outside America that we would not permit it to do inside of America.

And so I say that it is patriotic sometimes to prefer the honor of the country to its material interest. Would you rather be deemed by all the nations of the world incapable of keeping your treaty obligations in order that you might have free tolls for American ships? The treaty under which we gave up that right may have been a mistaken treaty, but there was no mistake about its meaning.

Keeping a promise

When I have made a promise as a man I try to keep it, and I know of no other rule permissible to a nation. The most distinguished nation in the world is the nation that can and will keep its promises even to its own hurt.

A patriotic American is a man who is not niggardly and selfish in the things that he enjoys that make for human liberty and the rights of man. He wants to share them with the whole

world, and he is never so proud of the great flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to other people as well as to himself a symbol of hope.

"The Meaning of Liberty," an address delivered at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 4, 1914.

Physical and moral courage

NOBILITY exists in America without patent. We have no House of Lords, but we have a house of fame to which we elevate those who are the noble men of our race, who, forgetful of themselves, study and serve the public interest, who have the courage to face any number and any kind of adversary, to speak what in their hearts they believe to be the truth.

We admire physical courage, but we admire above all things else moral courage. I believe that soldiers will

bear me out in saying that both come in time of battle. I take it that the moral courage comes in going into the battle, and the physical courage in staying in. There are battles which are just as hard to go into and just as hard to stay in as the battles of arms, and if the man will but stay and think never of himself there will come a time of grateful recollection when men will speak of him not only with admiration but with that which goes deeper, with affection and with reverence.

So that this flag calls upon us daily for service, and the more quiet and self-denying the service the greater the glory of the flag. We are dedicated to freedom, and that freedom means the freedom of the human spirit.

Memorial Day Address, National Cemetery, Arlington, Va., May 30, 1914.

Turn to the future

MY privilege is this, ladies and gentlemen: To declare this chapter in the history of the United States closed and ended, and I bid you turn with me with your faces to the future, quickened by the memories of the past, but with nothing to do with the contests of the past, knowing, as we have shed our blood upon opposite sides, we now face and admire one another.

Address on accepting the monument in Memory of the Confederate Dead, June 4, 1914.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Shield women and children

WE have studied, as perhaps no other nation has, the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should, either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals. Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which

they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves.

Restore, not destroy

WE shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they cannot tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of

Ideals lost

ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication.

First Inaugural Address, 1913.

Ease the burden

IT is part of our philosophy—it should be part of our statesmanship,—to ease the burden as we can, and enfranchise those who spend and are spent for the sustenance of the race.

On Being Human.

THE modern industrial organization has so distorted competition as sometimes to put it into the power of some to tyrannize over many, as to enable the rich and the strong to combine against the poor and the weak.

Unfair competition

BUT the socialist mistakes: it is not competition that kills, but unfair competition, the pretense and form of it where the substance and reality of it cannot exist.

The State, 1903.

Eight-hour day

IT seemed to me, in considering the subject-matter of the controversy, that the whole spirit of the time and the preponderant evidence of recent economic experience spoke for the eight-hour day. It has been adjudged by the thought and experience of recent years a thing upon which society is

justified in insisting as in the interest of health, efficiency, contentment, and a general increase of economic vigor. The whole presumption of modern experience would, it seemed to me, be in its favor, whether there was arbitration or not.

I unhesitatingly offered the friendly services of the administration to the railway managers to see to it that justice was done the railroads in the outcome. I felt warranted in assuring them that no obstacle of law would be suffered to stand in the way of their increasing their revenues to meet the expenses resulting from the change so far as the development of their business and of their administrative efficiency did not prove adequate to meet them. The public and the representatives of the public, I felt justified in assuring them, were disposed to nothing but jus-

tice in such cases and were willing to serve those who served them.

Railroads declined

The representatives of the brotherhoods accepted the plan; but the representatives of the railroads declined to accept it. In the face of what I cannot but regard as the practical certainty that they will be ultimately obliged to accept the eight-hour day by the concerted action of organized labor, backed by the favorable judgment of society, the representatives of the railway management have felt justified in declining a peaceful settlement which would engage all the forces of justice, public and private, on their side to take care of the event.

There is one other thing we should do if we are true champions of arbitration. We should make all arbitral awards judgments by record of a court of law in order that their interpretation

and enforcement may lie, not with one of the parties to the arbitration, but with an impartial and authoritative tribunal.

The Demands of Railway Employees—an address at a joint session of Congress, August 29, 1916.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Our standards

WE have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

THE great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

THERE has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great.

First Inaugural Address, 1913.

Very few rise

MOST of us are average men; very few of us rise, except by fortunate accident, above the general level of the community about us; therefore the man who thinks common thoughts, the man who has had common experiences, is almost always the man who interprets America aright.

THE nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top.

THE real wisdom of human life is compounded out of the experiences of ordinary men.

PUBLICITY is one of the purifying elements of politics.

Lift it up

THE best thing that you can do with anything that is crooked is to lift it up where people can see that it is crooked,

and then it will either straighten itself out or disappear.

LEGISLATION as we nowadays conduct it, is not conducted in the open.

A new age

WE have come upon a very different age from any that preceded us. We have come upon an age when we do not do business in the way we used to do business—when we do not carry on any of the operations of manufacture, sale, transportation, or communication as men used to carry them on. There is a sense in which in our day the individual has been submerged.

ONE of the most significant signs of the new social era is the degree to which government has become associated with big business.

A revolution

WE stand in the presence of a revolution,—not a bloody revolution: America is not given to the spilling of blood,—but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals which she has always professed, upon securing a government devoted to the general interest and not to special interests.

Changes needed

SOME radical changes we must make in our law and practice. Some reconstructions we must push forward, which a new age and new circumstances impose upon us. But we can do it all in calm and sober fashion like statesmen and patriots.

ONE of the worst features of the business system is this fact, that it works secretly.

POLITICAL bosses are men who have worked their way by secret methods to the power they occupy.

WE Americans have been too long satisfied with merely going through the motions of government.

The New Freedom.

PITHY SAYINGS

Spirit of age

EVERY man must, of course, whether he will or not, feel the spirit of the age in which he lives and thinks and does his work; and the mere contact will direct and form him more or less.

THERE is a greater thing than the spirit of the age, and that is the spirit of the ages.

An Author's Choice of Company.

Life and logic

LIFE quite overturns logic. Thinking and erudition alone will not equip for the great tasks and triumphs of life . . .

DEFEAT lies in self-surrender.

The Author Himself.

TRUE friendship is of a royal lineage.

OUR true wisdom is in our ideals.

AND so the fountain of learning became the fountain of perpetual youth.

The Free Life.

THE age changes, and with it must change our ideas of human quality.

WE need wholesome, experiencing natures, I dare affirm, much more than we need sound reasoning.

Genuine speech

SPEECH is genuine which is without silliness, affectation, or pretense. That character is genuine which seems built by nature rather than by convention.

NO age will take hysterical reform.

As bad times as these, or any we shall see, have been reformed, but not by protests.

IT is certainly human to mind your neighbor's business as well as your own.

On Being Human, 1906.

CHARACTER is a by-product, and any man who devotes himself to its cultivation in his own case will become a selfish prig. . . . Life, gentlemen—the life of society, the life of the world—has constantly to be fed from the bottom. . . . For, gentlemen, this is an age in which the principles of men who utter public opinion dominate the world.

The Power of Christian Young Men, being an address at the Anniversary Celebration of the Y. M. C. A.

Liars and truth

I WOULD guarantee that if enough liars talked to you, you would get the truth; because the parts that they

did not invent would match one another, and the parts that they did invent would *not* match one another.

Address before the United States Chamber of Commerce, February 3, 1915.

SOMETIMES the country believes in a party, but more often it believes in a man.

THE President is becoming more and more a political and less and less an executive officer.

The Constitution

THE Constitution of the United States is not a mere lawyer's document: it is a vehicle of life, and its spirit is always the spirit of the age.

THERE have been periods of our history when presidential messages were utterly without practical significance.

Constitutional Government in the U. S.

I WOULD rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty. But we shall not be poor if we love liberty.

Address before the Southern Commercial Congress, October 27, 1913.

Gossips

GOSSIPS are only sociologists upon a mean and petty scale.

WE should have passed by this time the Homeric stage of mind—should have heroes suited to our age.

COULD any man hesitate to say that Abraham Lincoln was more human than William Lloyd Garrison?

WE are glad to see earnest men laugh. It breaks the strain.

On Being Human.

CERTAINLY modern individualism has much about it that is hateful, too hateful to live.

IT should be the end of government to assist in accomplishing the objects of organized society.

The State.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Rapid growth

THE astonishing thing about the movement which you represent is, not that it has grown so slowly, but that it has grown so rapidly. No doubt for those who have been a long time in the struggle, like your honored president, it seems a long and arduous path that has been trodden, but when you think of the cumulating force of this movement in recent decades, you must agree with me that it is one of the most astonishing tides in modern history. Two generations ago, no doubt Madam President will agree with me in saying, it was a handful of women who were fighting this cause. Now it is a great multitude of women who are fighting it.

THE whole conception of government when the United States became a Nation was a mechanical con-

ception of government, and the mechanical conception of government which underlay it was the Newtonian theory of the universe.

Technical difficulties

THERE was a time when nobody but a lawyer could know enough to run the Government of the United States, and a distinguished English publicist once remarked, speaking of the complexity of the American Government, that it was no proof of the excellence of the American Constitution that it had been successfully operated, because the Americans could run any constitution. But there have been a great many technical difficulties in running it.

Will prevail

IT is going to prevail, and that is a very superficial and ignorant view of it which attributes it to mere

social unrest. It is not merely because the women are discontented. It is because the women have seen visions of duty, and that is something which we not only cannot resist, but, if we be true Americans, we do not wish to resist. America took its origin in visions of the human spirit, in aspirations for the deepest sort of liberty of the mind and of the heart, and as visions of that sort come up to the sight of those who are spiritually minded in America, America comes more and more into her birthright and into the perfection of her development.

OUR political questions have ceased to be legal questions. They have more and more become social questions, questions with regard to the relations of human beings to one another—not merely their legal relations,

but their moral and spiritual relations to one another.

So that what we have to realize in dealing with forces of this sort is that we are dealing with the substance of life itself.

Be patient

I HAVE not come to ask you to be patient, because you have been, but I have come to congratulate you that there was a force behind you that will beyond peradventure be triumphant, and for which you can afford a little while to wait.

Address at the National Women's Suffrage Convention in 1916.

THE whole art and practice of government consists not in moving individuals, but in moving masses.

Address at Atlantic City, September 8, 1916.

THOUGHTS ON LITERATURE

Prose and poetry

SOME books live; many die; wherein is the secret of immortality? Not in beauty of form, nor even in force of passion. We might say of literature what Wordsworth said of poetry. . . . Poetry has the easier immortality because it has the easier accent when it speaks, because its phrases linger in our ears to delight them, because its truths are also melodies. Prose has much to overcome,—its plainness of visage, its less musical accents, its homelier turns of phrase. But it also may maintain the immortal essence of truth and seriousness and high thought.

Mere Literature, 1913.

MUCH the most pathetic thought about books is that excellence will not save them. Their fates will be as whimsical as those of the humankind

which produces them. Knaves find it as easy to get remembered as good men.

Books and friends

THE world is attracted by books as each man is attracted by his several friends.

The Author Himself.

GREAT authors are not often men of fashion. Fashion is always a harness and restraint, whether it be fashion in dress or fashion in vice or fashion in literary art; and a man who is bound by it is caught and formed in a fleeting mode. The great writers are always innovators.

Praise of your own day

THE praise of your own day is no absolute disqualification; but it may be if it be given for qualities which your

friends are the first to admire, for 'tis likely they will also be the last

No man who has anything to say need stop and bethink himself whom he may please or displease in the saying of it.

An Author's Choice of Company.

Individuality

INDIVIDUALITY does not consist in the use of the very personal pronoun, I: it consists in tone, in method, in attitude, in point of view.

IT is best for the author to be born away from literary centres, or to be excluded from their ruling set if he be born in them.

IF you have a candid and well-informed friend among city lawyers, ask him where the best masters of his

profession are bred,—in the city or in the country. He will reply without hesitation, "In the country." You will hardly need to have him state the reason.

Gibbon

THE idea of slavery hovers over (Gibbon's) Decline and Fall. Fancy a stiffly dressed gentleman, in a stiff chair, slowly writing that stiff compilation in a stiff hand: it is enough to stiffen you for life.

The Author Himself.

REMARKS OF THE EDUCATOR

I PITY the man who cannot look back to those delicious sequestered places from which we first saw the world, that dear covert made by mothers' and fathers' love and kept inviolable by all the gentle arts of guardian care.

Motives in life

PRACTICAL judgments shift from age to age, but principles abide; and more stable even than principles are the motives which simplify and ennoble life.

The Free Life.

IT is again a day for Shakespeare's spirit—a day more various, more ardent, more provoking to valor and every large design, even than "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," when all the world seemed new . . .

LET us remind ourselves that to be human is, for one thing, to speak and act with a certain note of genuineness, a quality mixed of spontaneity and intelligence.

NO man is genuine who is forever trying to pattern his life after the lives of other people.

MAN is much more than a "rational being," and lives more by sympathies and impressions than by conclusions.

A pathfinder

KEEP but your eyes alert and your ears quick, as you move among men, and among books, and you shall find yourself possessed at last of a new sense, the sense of the pathfinder.

THE art of being human begins with the practice of being genuine, and

following standards of conduct which the world has tested.

A rebirth

WE shall need a new Renaissance, ushered in by a new "humanistic" movement, in which we shall add to our present minute, introspective study of ourselves, our jails, our slums, our nerve-centres, our shifts to live, almost as morbid as mediæval religion, a rediscovery of the round world, and of man's place in it, now that its face has changed.

On Being Human.

GOVERNMENTAL MAXIMS

GOVERNMENT, in its last analysis, is organized *force*. Not necessarily or invariably armed force. . . . It is, however, organized to rule, to dominate.

Armed force

IN the case of any particular government, the force upon which the authority of its officers rests may never once for generations together take the shape of armed force. Happily there are in our own day many governments, and those among the most prominent, which seldom coerce their subjects, seeming in their tranquil, noiseless operations to run of themselves . . . But there is force behind them none the less because it never shows itself.

Minority and majority

THE better governments of our day—those which rest, not upon the armed strength of governors, but

upon the free consent of the governed are founded upon constitutions and laws whose source and sanction are the habit of communities. The force which they embody is not the force of a dominant dynasty or of a prevalent minority, but the force of an agreeing majority. And the overwhelming nature of this force is evidently the fact that the minority very seldom challenges its exercise. It is latent just because it is understood to be omnipotent.

THERE is force behind the authority of the elected magistrate, no less than behind that of the usurping despot, a much greater force behind the President of the United States than behind the Czar of Russia. The difference lies in the *display* of coercive power. Physical force is the

prop of both, though in the one it is the last, while in the other it is the first, resort.

Public opinion

IT is common nowadays when referring to the affairs of the most progressive nations to speak of "government by public opinion." . . . But no one intends such expressions to conceal the fact that the majority . . . does not prevail because the minority are convinced, but because they outnumbered and have against them not the "popular voice" only, but the "popular power" as well,—that it is the potential might rather than the wisdom of the majority which gives it its right to rule.

SOCIETY is compounded of the common habit and is an evolution of experience, an interlaced growth of tena-

cious relationships, a compact, living, organic whole, structural, not mechanical.

OLIGARCHY is even more hateful to civil liberty, is even a greater hindrance to healthful civil life than tyranny.

Degeneracy

DEMOCRACY, too, has its old age of degeneracy—an old age in which it loses its early respect for law, its first "amiability" of mutual concession. It breaks out into license and anarchy, and none but a Cæsar can bring it back to reason and order.

SOCIETY is not the organism it once was,—its members are given freer play, fuller opportunity for origination; but its organic character is again prominent.

The State.

Illegitimate means

THERE are illegitimate means by which the President may influence the action of Congress. . . . He may overbear Congress by arbitrary acts which ignore the laws or virtually override them. . . . Such things are not only deeply immoral, they are destructive of the fundamental understandings of constitutional government. . . . They are sure, moreover, in a country of free public opinion, to bring their own punishment, to destroy both the fame and the power of the man who dares to practice them.

The President as spokesman

THE nation as a whole has chosen the President, and is conscious that it has no other political spokesman. His is the only national voice in affairs. Let him once win the admiration and confidence of the coun-

try, and no other single force can withstand him, no combination of forces will easily overpower him.

Leader of his party

A PRESIDENT whom the nation trusts can not only lead it, but form it to his own views. . . . He may be both the leader of his party and the leader of the nation, or he may be one or the other. If he lead the nation, his party can hardly resist him. His office is anything he has the sagacity and force to make it.

IF the matter be looked at a little more closely, it will be seen that the office of the President, as we have used it and developed it, really does not demand actual experience in affairs so much as particular qualities of mind and character which we are at least

as likely to find outside the ranks of our public men as within them.

Personal force

IF the President has personal force and cares to exercise it there is this tremendous difference between his messages and the views of any other citizen, either outside Congress or within it: that the whole country reads them and feels that the writer speaks with an authority and a responsibility which the people themselves have given him.

No mere domestic figure

THE President can never again be the mere domestic figure he has been throughout so large a part of our history . . . Our President must always henceforth be one of the great powers of the world, whether he act greatly and wisely or not, and the best

statesmen we can produce will be needed to fill the office of secretary of state.

Constitutional Government in the United States.

Kaiser's powers

THE constitutional prerogatives of the German Emperor are of the most eminent kind. Unlike other presidents, he is irresponsible: he cannot be removed. . . . He has, in brief, to the fullest extent, both the executive and the representative functions now characteristic of the head of a powerful constitutional state. . . . Adding, as he does, to his powers as hereditary president of the Empire his commanding privileges as king of Prussia . . . he possesses no slight claim to be regarded as the most powerful ruler of our time.

State no evil

THE State is no more an evil than is society itself. It is the organic body of society: without it society would be hardly more than a mere abstraction. If the name had not been restricted to a single, narrow, extreme, and radically mistaken class of thinkers, we ought all to regard ourselves and to act as *socialists*, believers in the wholesomeness and beneficence of the body politic.

Socialists and society

THE schemes which Socialists have proposed society cannot accept and live, and no scheme which involves the complete control of the individual by government can be devised which differs from theirs very much for the better.

THE case for society stands thus: the individual must be assured the best means, the best and fullest opportunities, for complete self-development. In no other way can society itself gain variety and strength.

Government an instrument

SOCIETY, it must always be remembered, is vastly bigger and more important than its instrument, government. Government should serve society, by no means rule or dominate it. Government should not be made an end in itself; it is a means only,—a means to be freely adapted to advance the best interests of the social organism. The state exists for the sake of society, not society for the sake of the state.

The State.

The wisest thing

WE have learnt that it is pent-up feelings that are dangerous, whispered purposes that are revolutionary, covert follies that warp and poison the mind; that the wisest thing to do with a fool is to encourage him to hire a hall and discourse to his fellow-citizens. Nothing chills nonsense like exposure to the air.

Practical reforms

ACTION is very sobering to opinion. It is one thing to advocate reforms: it is quite another to formulate them. Many an ardent and burdensome reformer would be silenced and put to better thinking if he were obliged to express his reform in the exact words of a workable statute; and many a statute which amateurs may think eminently workable turns out impossible of execution.

ARE the United States a community? In some things, yes; in many things, no. . . . It would be hard to frame any single generalization which would be true of the whole United States, whether it were social, economic or political.

The States

WE have multiplied our constitutional governments by the number of our states, and have set up in each commonwealth of a vast union of states a separate constitutional government to which is intrusted the regulation of all the ordinary relations of citizens to each other. . . .

THE Government of the United States has had a vital and normal organic growth and has proved itself eminently adapted to express the chang-

ing temper and purposes of the American people from age to age.

The presidency

THE presidency has been one thing at one time, another at another, varying with the man who occupied the office and with the circumstances that surrounded him.

OUR new place in the affairs of the world has since that year of transformation (1898) kept the President at the front of our Government.

WE are in these latter days apt to be very impatient of literal and dogmatic interpretations of constitutional principle.

Constitutional Government in the United States.

Guide of the nation

AS a matter of fact the President has become very much more. He has become the leader of his party

and the guide of the nation in political purpose, and therefore in legal action. The constitutional structure of the Government has hampered and limited his action in these significant rôles, but it has not prevented it.

The unifying force

GREATLY as the practice and influence of Presidents have varied, there can be no mistaking the fact that we have grown more and more inclined . . . to look to the President as the unifying force in our complex system, the leader both of his party and of the nation. To do so is not inconsistent with the actual provisions of the Constitution.

Constitutional Government in the United States —Edition of 1908.

PROGRESSIVE TENDENCIES

Radicalism

I TELL you, the so-called radicalism of our times is simply the effort of nature to release the generous energies of our people. This great American people is at bottom just, virtuous, and hopeful.

Open processes

IT is necessary to open up all the processes of our politics. They have been too secret, too complicated, too roundabout; they have consisted too much of private conferences, of secret understandings, of the control of legislation by men who were not legislators, but who stood outside and dictated, controlling oftentimes by very questionable means.

WE are in the presence of a new organization of society.

WE have changed our economic conditions, absolutely, from top to bottom; and, with our economic society, the organization of our life.

The inventor

OF course I am not saying that all invention has been stopped by the growth of trusts, but I think it is perfectly clear that invention in many fields has been discouraged, that inventors have been prevented from reaping the full fruits of their ingenuity and industry, and that mankind has been deprived of many comforts and conveniences, as well as of the opportunity of buying at lower prices.

The referendum

I MET a man the other day who thought that the referendum was some kind of animal because it had a Latin name. But most of us know and are deeply interested. Why? Be-

cause we have felt that in too many instances our Government did not represent us, and we have said: "We have to have a key to the door of our own house." The initiative and referendum and the recall afford such a key to our own premises.

Protective policy

IT is part of the indictment against the protective policy of the United States that it has weakened and not enhanced the vigor of our people. . . . Think of it: a nation full of genius and yet paralyzed by timidity!

Owned by corporations

I HAVE lived in a state that was owned by a series of corporations. They handed it about. It was at one time owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad. Then it was owned by the Public Service Corporation. It was owned by the Public Service Cor-

poration when I was admitted, and that corporation has been resentful ever since that I interfered with its tendency. But I really did not see any reason why the people should give up their own residence to so small a body of men to monopolize.

Controlling class

No country can afford to have its prosperity originated by a small controlling class. The treasure of America does not lie in the brains of the small body of men now in control of the great enterprises.

The New Freedom.

Abolish privilege

WE must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, eco-

nomical, and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world.

First Address to Congress.

Adjustment

A NEW economic society has sprung up, and we must effect a new set of adjustments. We must not pit power against weakness. The employer is generally . . . a powerful group; and yet the workingman when dealing with his employer is still, under our existing law, an individual.

Crushing the weak

AMERICAN industry is not free, as once it was free; American enterprise is not free; the man with only a little capital is finding it harder to get into the field, more and more impossible to compete with the big fellow. Why? Because the laws of

this country do not prevent the strong from crushing the weak.

The New Freedom.

SO things stood when the Democratic Party came into power. How do they stand now? Alike in the domestic field and in the wide field of the commerce of the world, American business and life and industry have been set free to move as they never moved before.

Tariff revised

The tariff has been revised, not on the principle of repelling foreign trade, but upon the principle of encouraging it. . . . American energies are now directed towards the markets of the world.

The laws against trusts have been clarified by definition, with a view to making it plain that they were not directed against big business but only

against unfair business and the pretense of competition where there was none; and a Trade Commission has been created with powers of guidance and accommodation which have relieved business men of unfounded fears and set them upon the road of hopeful and confident enterprise.

By the Federal Reserve Act the supply of currency at the disposal of active business has been rendered elastic.

Merchant marine recreated

Effective measures have been taken for the re-creation of an American merchant marine and the revival of the American carrying trade indispensable to our emancipation from the control which foreigners have so long exercised over the opportunities, the routes, and the methods of our commerce with other countries.

For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial

credit, by means of the Federal Reserve Act and the Rural Credits Act. They now have the standing of other business men in the money market.

We have effected the emancipation of the children of the country by releasing them from hurtful labor. We have instituted a system of national aid in the building of highroads such as the country has been feeling after for a century. . . .

A new age, an age of revolutionary change, needs new purposes and new ideas.

. . . I am the candidate of a party, but I am above all things else an American citizen. I neither seek the favor nor fear the displeasure of that small alien element amongst us which puts loyalty to any foreign power before loyalty to the United States.

We have undertaken these many

Played big brother

years to play big brother to the republics of this hemisphere. This is the day of our test whether we mean, or have ever meant, to play that part for our own benefit wholly or also for theirs. Upon the outcome of that test (its outcome in their minds, not in ours) depends every relationship of the United States with Latin America, whether in politics or in commerce and enterprise. . . . The nations of the world must unite in joint guarantees that whatever is done to disturb the whole world's life must first be tested in the court of the whole world's opinion before it is attempted.

No more provincialism

We can no longer indulge our traditional provincialism. We are to play a leading part in the world drama whether we wish it or not. We shall lend, not borrow; act for ourselves, not imitate or follow; organize and

initiate, not peep about merely to see where we may get in.

We have put all kinds of unfair competition under the ban and penalty of the law. We have barred monopoly. . .

. . . The day of Little Americanism, with its narrow horizons, when methods of "protection" and industrial nursing were the chief study of our provincial statesmen, are past and gone and that a day of enterprise has at last dawned for the United States whose field is the wide world.

Speech of Acceptance on being offered the nomination for President by the Democratic Party, September 2, 1916.

AMERICANISM

America's vitality

THE vitality of America lies in the brains, the energies, the enterprise of the people throughout the land; in the efficiency of their factories and in the richness of the fields that stretch beyond the borders of the town; in the wealth which they extract from nature and originate for themselves through the inventive genius characteristic of all free American communities. That is the wealth of America, and if America discourages the locality, the community, the self-contained town, she will kill the nation.

The New Freedom.

WE have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortui-

tous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

Constitutional Government in the United States.

No guardianship

AMERICA is never going to submit to guardianship. America is never going to choose thralldom instead of freedom.

THERE are tasks awaiting the Government of the United States which it cannot perform until every pulse of that Government beats in unison with the needs and the desires of the whole body of the American people.

IT is one of the glories of our land that nobody is able to predict from what family, from what region, from what race even, the leaders of the country are going to come.

The New Freedom.

Is a person

THE President of the United States is a person, not a mere department of the Government hailing Congress from some isolated island of jealous power, sending messages, not speaking naturally and with his own voice—that he is a human being trying to coöperate with other human beings in a common service.

First Address to Congress, 1913.

Our affair

WE are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia.

And the lesson which the shock of being taken by surprise in a matter so deeply vital to all the nations of the

world has made poignantly clear is, that the peace of the world must henceforth depend upon a new and more wholesome diplomacy. Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established. It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals. . . .

Fundamental things

We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again

offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action. Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

Nothing for herself

There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others

which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs. . . .

Our interest is only in peace and its future guarantees. Second, an universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world, —a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence.

. . . God grant that the dawn of that day of frank dealing and of settled peace, concord, and coöperation may be near at hand!

"American Principles," address before the First Annual Assemblage of the League to Enforce Peace, May 27, 1916.

Two theories

THERE are two theories of government that have been contending with each other ever since government began. One of them is the theory which in America is associated with the name of a very great man, Alexander Hamilton. A great man, but, in my judgment, not a great American. He did not think in terms of American life. Hamilton believed that the only people who could understand government, and therefore the only people who were qualified to conduct it, were the men who had the biggest financial stake in the country and in the enterprises of the country. That theory, though few have now the hardihood to profess it openly, has been the working theory upon which our Government has lately been conducted. It is astonishing how persistent it is.

Not a great American

THE masters of the Government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States.

THE Government of the United States at present is a foster-child of the "special interests."

Providing prosperity

NOTHING could be a greater departure from original Americanism, from faith in the ability of a confident, resourceful, and independent people, than the discouraging doctrine that somebody has got to provide prosperity for the rest of us.

Rejects trustee theory

I AM one of those who absolutely reject the trustee theory, the guardianship theory. . . . I suspect that the people of the United States understand their own interests better

than any group of men in the confines of the country understand them. The men who are sweating blood to get their foothold in the world of endeavor understand the conditions of business in the United States very much better than the men who have arrived and are at the top.

THE government of our country cannot be lodged in any special class.

THE policy of a great nation cannot be tied up with any particular set of interests.

WE have got to relieve our Government from the domination of special classes.

I BELIEVE, as I believe in nothing else, in the average integrity and the

average intelligence of the American people, and I do not believe that the intelligence of America can be put into commission anywhere.

No wards wanted

IF any part of our people want to be wards, if they want to have guardians put over them, if they want to be taken care of, if they want to be children, patronized by the Government, why, I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America. But I don't believe they do.

The New Freedom.

YOU cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans.

No groups

YOU cannot become thorough Ameri-

cans if you think of yourselves in groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American.

AMERICA must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind.

THE example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world, and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not

need to convince others by force that it is right.

Address to Newly Naturalized Citizens.

Oath of allegiance

YOU have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, "We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where

a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice." And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you.

Founded for humanity

THIS is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women out of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it

is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.

No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise.

IT was but an historical accident no doubt that this great country was called the "United States"; yet I am very thankful that it has that word "United" in its title, and the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest in this great Union is striking at its very heart.

IF I have in any degree forgotten what America was intended for, I will thank God if you will remind me.

Address, Philadelphia, May 19, 1915.

I WANT to belong to a nation, and I am proud to belong to a nation that knows how to take care of itself.

THE whole stability of a democratic polity rests upon the fact that every interest is every man's interest.

Praise for Lincoln

THEN there arose that interesting figure, the immortal figure of the great Lincoln, who stood up declaring that the politicians, the men who had governed this country, did not see from the point of view of the people.

Assisted by experts

As a university president I learned that the men who dominate our manu-

facturing processes could not conduct their business for twenty-four hours without the assistance of the experts with whom the universities were supplying him.

The New Freedom.

True Americans

I LISTENED again to this list of the dead with a profound interest because of the mixture of the names, for the names bear the marks of the several national stocks from which these men came. But they are not Irishmen or Germans or Frenchmen or Hebrews or Italians any more. They were not when they went to Vera Cruz; they were Americans, every one of them, and with no difference in their Americanism because of the stock from which they came. They were in a peculiar sense of our blood, and they proved it by showing that they were

of our spirit—that no matter what their derivation, no matter where their people came from, they thought and wished and did the things that were American; and the flag under which they served was a flag in which all the blood of mankind is united to make a free nation.

Address delivered at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, May 11, 1914.

Vicious discrimination

IN two particulars of vital consequence this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their Government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asy-

lum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men; and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity.

. . . In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and impose tests which exclude and restrict. . . .

Restrictions like these, adopted earlier in our history as a nation, would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his

own less fortunate land, and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public councils.

Message to Congress disapproving of a restrictive immigration bill.

POLITICS, ladies and gentlemen, is made up in just about equal parts of comprehension and sympathy. No man ought to go into politics who does not comprehend the task that he is going to attack. . . . After he has comprehended it, there should come into his mind those profound impulses of sympathy which connect him with the rest of mankind, for politics is a business of interpretation, and no men are fit for it who do not see and seek more than their own advantage and interest.

Declaration of Independence

. . . The Declaration of Independence was, indeed, the first audible

breath of liberty, but the substance of liberty is written in such documents as the declaration of rights attached, for example, to the first constitution of Virginia, which was a model for the similar documents read elsewhere into our great fundamental charters. That document speaks in very plain terms. The men of that generation did not hesitate to say that every people has a right to choose its own forms of government—not once, but as often as it pleases—and to accommodate those forms of government to its existing interests and circumstances. Not only to establish but to alter is the fundamental principle of self-government.

. . . . .

No man can boast that he understands America. No man can boast that he has lived the life of America, as almost every man who sat in this

hall in those days could boast. No man can pretend that except by common counsel he can gather into his consciousness what the varied life of this people is. The duty that we have to keep open eyes and open hearts and accessible understandings is a very much more difficult duty to perform than it was in their day. . . . I count it a fortunate circumstance that almost all the windows of the White House and its offices open upon unoccupied spaces that stretch to the banks of the Potomac and then out into Virginia and on to the heavens themselves, and that as I sit there I can constantly forget Washington and remember the United States. Not that I would intimate that all of the United States lies south of Washington, but there is a serious thing back of my thought. If you think too much about being reëlected,

Looking from the White House

it is very difficult to be worth reëlecting.

It is constantly necessary to come away from Washington and renew one's contact with the people who do not swarm there, who do not ask for anything, but who do trust you without their personal counsel to do your duty. Unless a man gets these contacts he grows weaker and weaker. He needs them as Hercules needed the touch of mother earth.

"Understanding America." Delivered at Philadelphia, Pa., on the occasion of the rededication of Congress Hall, October 25, 1913.

THE war was started by Germany. Her authorities deny that they started it, but I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the thing that needs to be explained is why Germany

started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was —as enviable a position as any nation has ever occupied. The whole world stood at admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements. All the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievement. Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries of the world, and the label "Made in Germany" was a guarantee of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every

The world admired

Irresistible competition

other nation who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition. She had a "place in the sun."

Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want? There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have and have in abundance. We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and of the population of our cities. Well, those statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth and grew faster than any American cities ever grew. Her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest. And yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied.

The spirit of freedom

I believe that the spirit of freedom

can get into the hearts of Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in any other hearts, but the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the Pan-Germans. Power cannot be used with concentrated force against free peoples if it is used by free people.

While we are fighting for freedom we must see, among other things, that labor is free; and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. I believe I am speaking from my own experience not only, but from the experience of others when I say that you are

reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists. We claim to be the greatest democratic people in the world, and democracy means first of all that we can govern ourselves. If our men have not self-control, then they are not capable of that great thing which we call democratic government.

Address to the American Federation of Labor Convention, Buffalo, New York, November 12, 1917.

THIS little hut was the cradle of one of the great sons of men, a man of singular, delightful, vital genius who presently emerged upon the great stage of the nation's history, gaunt, shy, ungainly, but dominant and majestic, a natural ruler of men, himself inevitably the central figure of the great plot. No man can explain this, but every man can see how it demonstrates the vigor

of democracy, where every door is open, in every hamlet and countryside, in city and wilderness alike, for the ruler to emerge when he will and claim his leadership in the free life. Such are the authentic proofs of the validity and vitality of democracy.

In the wilderness

We would like to think of men like Lincoln and Washington as typical Americans, but no man can be typical who is so unusual as these great men were. It was typical of American life that it should produce such men with supreme indifference as to the manner in which it produced them, and as readily here in this hut as amidst the little circle of cultivated gentlemen to whom Virginia owed so much in leadership and example. And Lincoln and Washington were typical Americans in the use they made of their genius. But there will be few such men at best, and

Typical

we will not look into the mystery of how and why they come. We will only keep the door open for them always, and a hearty welcome,—after we have recognized them.

Passages in an address on "Lincoln's Beginnings," delivered September 4, 1916.

FOR HUMANITY

Bring liberty to mankind

WHAT was in the minds of the men who founded America,—to serve the selfish interests of America? Do you find that in their writings? No; to serve the cause of humanity, to bring liberty to mankind.

The New Freedom.

HUMANITY can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellow men.

Address to Newly Naturalized Citizens, Philadelphia, May 10, 1916.

WE seek to maintain the dignity and authority of the United States only because we wish always to keep our great influence unimpaired for the uses of liberty, both in the United States and

wherever else it may be employed for the benefit of mankind.

Address on the Tampico Incident, made before the two Houses of Congress, April 20, 1914.

Spirit of unselfishness

AMERICA will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity.

What other great people has devoted itself to this exalted ideal? To what other nation in the world can all eyes look for an instant sympathy that thrills the whole body politic when men anywhere are fighting for their rights? I do not know that there will ever be a declaration of independence and of grievances for mankind, but I believe that if any such document is ever drawn it will be drawn in the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence,

and that America has lifted high the light which will shine unto all generations and guide the feet of mankind to the goal of justice and liberty and peace.

"Meaning of Liberty," address at Independence Hall, July 4, 1914.

A war of service

WE have gone down to Mexico to serve mankind if we can find out the way. We do not want to fight the Mexicans. We want to serve the Mexicans if we can, because we know how we would like to be free, and how we would like to be served if there were friends standing by in such case ready to serve us. A war of aggression is not a war in which it is a proud thing to die, but a war of service is a thing in which it is a proud thing to die.

Address delivered in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, May 11, 1914.

Sample Americans

IT ought to be one of your thoughts all the time that you are sample Americans—not merely sample Navy men, not merely sample soldiers, but sample Americans—and that you have the point of view of America with regard to her Navy and her Army; that she is using them as the instruments of civilization, not as the instruments of aggression. The idea of America is to serve humanity, and every time you let the Stars and Stripes free to the wind you ought to realize that that is in itself a message that you are on an errand which other navies have sometimes forgotten; not an errand of conquest, but an errand of service. I always have the same thought when I look at the flag of the United States, for I know something of the history of the struggle of mankind for liberty. When I look at that flag it seems to

me as if the white stripes were strips of parchment upon which are written the rights of man, and the red stripes the streams of blood by which those rights have been made good. Then in the little blue firmament in the corner have swung out the stars of the States of the American Union. So it is, as it were, a sort of floating charter that has come down to us from Runnymede, when men said, "We will not have masters; we will be a people, and we will seek our own liberty."

Serving a people

You are not serving a government, gentlemen; you are serving a people. For we who for the time being constitute the Government are merely instruments for a little while in the hands of a great Nation. . . . For that is the only distinction that America has. Other nations have been strong, other nations have piled wealth as high as

the sky, but they have come into disgrace because they used their force and their wealth for the oppression of mankind and their own aggrandizement; and America will not bring glory to herself, but disgrace, by following the beaten paths of history. We must strike out upon new paths, and we must count upon you gentlemen to be the explorers who will carry this spirit and spread this message all over the seas and in every port of the civilized world.

Annapolis Commencement Address, June 5, 1914.

I HAVE often said that the use of a university is to make young gentlemen as unlike their fathers as possible.

Lift his brother

No man is a true Christian who does not think constantly of how he can lift his brother, how he can assist his friend,

how he can enlighten mankind, how he can make virtue the rule of conduct in the circle in which he lives.

And, then, I am glad that it is an association. Every word of its title means an element of strength. Young men are strong. Christian young men are the strongest kind of young men, and when they associate themselves together they have the incomparable strength of organization.

I remember hearing a very wise man say once, a man grown old in the service of a great church, that he had never taught his son religion dogmatically at any time; that he and the boy's mother had agreed that if the atmosphere of that home did not make a Christian of the boy, nothing that they could say would make a Christian of him. They knew that Christianity was catching, and if they did not have it, it

would not be communicated. If they did have it, it would penetrate while the boy slept, almost.

Surging up of new strength

The humblest hovel, therefore, may produce you your greatest man. A very humble hovel did produce you one of your greatest men. That is the process of life, this constant surging up of the new strength of unnamed, unrecognized, uncatalogued men who are just getting into the running, who are just coming up from the masses of the unrecognized multitude. You do not know when you will see above the level masses of the crowd some great stature lifted head and shoulders above the rest, shouldering its way, not violently but gently, to the front and saying, "Here am I; follow me." And his voice will be your voice, his thought will be your thought, and you will

follow him as if you were following the best things in yourselves.

That means that eternal vigilance is the price, not only of liberty, but of a great many other things. It is the price of everything that is good. It is the price of one's own soul.

"The Power of Christian Young Men," being an address at the Anniversary Celebration of the Y.M.C.A.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

New banking system

IT is absolutely imperative that we should give the business men of this country a banking and currency system by means of which they can make use of the freedom of enterprise and of individual initiative which we are about to bestow upon them.

We are about to set them free; we must not leave them without the tools of action when they are free. We are about to set them free by removing the trammels of the protective tariff. Ever since the Civil War they have waited for this emancipation and for the free opportunities it will bring with it. . . . Some fell in love, indeed, with the slothful security of their dependence upon the Government; some took advantage of the shelter of the nursery to set up a mimic mastery of their own within its walls. Now both the tonic

and the discipline of liberty and maturity are to ensue. . . .

It is not enough to strike the shackles from business. The duty of statesmanship is not negative merely. It is constructive also. We must show that we understand what business needs and that we know how to supply it.

. . . . . .

Must mobilize reserves

Our banking laws must mobilize reserves; must not permit the concentration anywhere in a few hands of the monetary resources of the country or their use for speculative purposes in such volume as to hinder or impede or stand in the way of other more legitimate, more fruitful uses. And the control of the system of banking and of issue which our new laws are to set up must be public, not private, must be vested in the Government itself, so that the banks may be the instruments, not

the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative.

Address before Congress on the Banking System, 1913.

Changes in fiscal laws

WE must make changes in our fiscal laws and our fiscal system, whose object is development, a more free and wholesome development, not revolution or upset or confusion. We must build up trade, especially foreign trade. We need the outlet and the enlarged field of energy more than we ever did before. We must build up industry as well, and must adopt freedom in the place of artificial stimulation only so far as it will build, not pull down.

We are to deal with the facts of our own day, with the facts of no other, and to make laws which square with those facts.

First Address to Congress, 1913.

Our merchant marine stunted

TO speak plainly, we have grossly erred in the way in which we have stunted and hindered the development of our merchant marine. And now, when we need ships, we have not got them. . . .

Hence the pending shipping bill, discussed at the last session but as yet passed by neither House. In my judgment such legislation is imperatively needed and cannot wisely be postponed.

Annual Address to Congress, December 8, 1914.

Embodies convincing experience

CONSTRUCTIVE legislation, when successful, is always the embodiment of convincing experience, and of the mature public opinion which finally springs out of that experience. Legislation is a business of interpretation, not of origination; and it is now plain what the opinion is to which we must give effect in this matter. It

is not recent or hasty opinion. It springs out of the experience of a whole generation. It has clarified itself by long contest, and those who for a long time battled with it and sought to change it are now frankly and honorably yielding to it and seeking to conform their actions to it.

We are now about to give expression to the best business judgment of America, to what we know to be the business conscience and honor of the land. The Government and business men are ready to meet each other halfway. . . .

We are all agreed that "private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," and our program is founded upon that conviction.

Address on "Trusts and Monopolies," delivered at a joint session of Congress, January 20, 1914.

THE advantage about a Chamber of Commerce of the United States is that there is only one way to boost the United States, and that is by seeing to it that the conditions under which business is done throughout the whole country are the best possible conditions. There cannot be any disproportion about that.

. . . The minute this association falls into the hands, if it ever should, of men from a single section or men with a single set of interests most at heart, it will go to seed and die.

The world and American commerce

. . . We are just beginning to do, systematically and scientifically, what we ought long ago to have done, to employ the Government of the United States to survey the world in order that American commerce might be guided.

Many minds are necessary to com-

pound a workable method of life in a various and populous country; and as I think about the whole thing and picture the purposes, the infinitely difficult and complex purposes which we must conceive and carry out, not only does it minister to my own modesty, I hope, of opinion, but it also fills me with a very great enthusiasm. It is a splendid thing to be part of a great wide-awake nation. It is a splendid thing to know that your own strength is infinitely multiplied by the strength of other men who love the country as you do.

Address before the United States Chamber of Commerce, February 3, 1915.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Mexico and the future

THE future has much in store for Mexico, as for all the States of Central America; but the best gifts can come to her only if she be ready and free to receive them and to enjoy them honorably. America in particular —America north and south and upon both continents—waits upon the development of Mexico; and that development can be sound and lasting only if it be the product of a genuine freedom, a just and ordered government founded upon law. Only so can it be peaceful or fruitful of the benefits of peace. Mexico has a great and enviable future before her, if only she choose and attain the paths of honest constitutional government.

. . . . .

Policy of impartiality

For the rest, I deem it my duty to exercise the authority conferred upon

me by the law of March 14, 1912, to see to it that neither side to the struggle now going on in Mexico receive any assistance from this side the border. I shall follow the best practice of nations in the matter of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of arms or munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico—a policy suggested by several interesting precedents and certainly dictated by many manifest considerations of practical expediency. We cannot in the circumstances be the partisans of either party to the contest that now distracts Mexico, or constitute ourselves the virtual umpire between them.

. . . All the world expects us in such circumstances to act as Mexico's nearest friend and intimate adviser.

This is our immemorial relation towards her.

Address on Mexican Affairs, delivered at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, August 27, 1913.

The Latin-American states

DO you not see now what is about to happen? These great tides which have been running along parallels of latitude will now swing southward athwart parallels of latitude, and that opening gate at the Isthmus of Panama will open the world to a commerce that she has not known before, a commerce of intelligence, of thought, and sympathy between North and South. The Latin-American States which, to their disadvantage, have been off the main lines will now be on the main lines. . . .

I want to take this occasion to say that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by

conquest. She will devote herself to showing that she knows how to make honorable and fruitful use of the territory she has, and she must regard it as one of the duties of friendship to see that from no quarter are material interests made superior to human liberty and national opportunity. I say this, not with a single thought that anyone will gainsay it, but merely to fix in our consciousness what our real relationship with the rest of America is. It is the relationship of a family of mankind devoted to the development of true constitutional liberty. We know that that is the soil out of which the best enterprise springs. We know that this is a cause which we are making in common with our neighbors, because we have had to make it for ourselves. . . .

Address delivered at Mobile, Alabama, before the Southern Commercial Congress, on October 27, 1913.

Settled peace and good will

THE country, I am thankful to say, is at peace with all the world, and many happy manifestations multiply about us of a growing cordiality and sense of community of interest among the nations, foreshadowing an age of settled peace and good will. More and more readily each decade do the nations manifest their willingness to bind themselves by solemn treaty to the processes of peace, the processes of frankness and fair concession. So far the United States has stood at the front of such negotiations. She will, I earnestly hope and confidently believe, give fresh proof of her sincere adherence to the cause of international friendship by ratifying the several treaties of arbitration awaiting renewal by the Senate. In addition to these, it has been the privilege of the Department of State to gain the assent, in principle,

of no less than thirty-one nations, representing four-fifths of the population of the world, to the negotiation of treaties by which it shall be agreed that whenever differences of interest or of policy arise which cannot be resolved by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they shall be publicly analyzed. discussed, and reported upon by a tribunal chosen by the parties before either nation determines its course of action.

The only standard

There is only one possible standard by which to determine controversies between the United States and other nations, and that is compounded of these two elements: Our own honor and our obligations to the peace of the world. A test so compounded ought easily to be made to govern both the establishment of new treaty obligations and

the interpretation of those already assumed.

Address on the State of the Union, delivered before the two Houses of Congress, December 2, 1913.

No war with Mexico

THIS Government can, I earnestly hope, in no circumstances be forced into war with the people of Mexico. Mexico is torn by civil strife. If we are to accept the tests of its own constitution, it has no government. . . . I believe that I speak for the American people when I say that we do not desire to control in any degree the affairs of our sister Republic. Our feeling for the people of Mexico is one of deep and genuine friendship, and everything that we have so far done or refrained from doing has proceeded from our desire to help them, not to hinder or embarrass them. We would not wish even to

exercise the good offices of friendship without their welcome and consent.

Address on the Tampico Incident, made before the two Houses of Congress, April 20, 1914.

Must be neutral in fact

THE United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to

exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

Camps of hostile opinion

It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility, responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, in-

volved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.

Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

"American Neutrality," an appeal to the citizens of the Republic, August 20, 1914.

Opinion of the world

THE opinion of the world is the mistress of the world; and the processes of international law are the slow processes by which opinion works its will. What impresses me is the constant thought that that is the tribunal at the bar of which we all sit. . . .

The disinterested course is always the

biggest course to pursue not only, but it is in the long run the most profitable course to pursue. . . .

I once said to a lawyer with whom I was discussing some question of precedent, and in whose presence I was venturing to doubt the rational validity, at any rate, of the particular precedents he cited, "After all, isn't our object justice?" And he said, "God forbid! We should be very much confused if we made that our standard. Our standard is to find out what the rule has been and how the rule that has been applies to the case that is."

. . . My hope is that, being stirred to the depths by the extraordinary circumstances of the time in which we live, we may recover from those depths something of a renewal of that vision of the law with which men may be

supposed to have started out in the old days of the oracles, who communed with the intimations of divinity. . . . . We are custodians of the spirit of righteousness, of the spirit of equal-handed justice, of the spirit of hope which believes in the perfectibility of the law with the perfectibility of human life itself.

"The Opinion of the World," an address before the American Bar Association, October 20, 1914.

The fourteen points

IT will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular gov-

ernments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world.

All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except

as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned

must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

Questions affecting Russia

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of

her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored; and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of

Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

The Balkan peoples

XI. Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly

counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.

Poland to be free

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include

the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the Governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

Fight until achieved

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law

and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

Who are the spokesmen?

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and

their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

Address at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, January 8, 1918.

TOUCHING THE WAR

THE people of this country are both intelligent and profoundly patriotic. They are ready to meet the present conditions in the right way and to support the Government with generous self-denial. They know and understand, and will be intolerant only of those who dodge responsibility or are not frank with them.

Address before Congress, September 4, 1914.

America first

I KNOW that whenever the test comes every man's heart will be first for America. It was principle and affection and ambition and hope that drew men to these shores, and they are not going to forget the errand upon which they came and allow America, the home of their refuge and hope, to suffer by any forgetfulness on their part.

. . . There is no precedent in American history for any action of ag-

gression on the part of the United States or for any action which might mean that America is seeking to connect herself with the controversies on the other side of the water. Men who seek to provoke us to such action have forgotten the traditions of the United States, but it behooves those with whom you have entrusted office to remember the traditions of the United States and to see to it that the actions of the Government are made to square with those traditions.

. . . In the first place, I know that you are depending upon me to keep this Nation out of the war. So far I have done so, and I pledge you my word that, God helping me, I will if it is possible.

The colors of the flag

Do not deceive yourselves, ladies and gentlemen, as to where the colors of that flag came from. Those lines of

red are lines of blood, nobly and unselfishly shed by men who loved the liberty of their fellow men more than they loved their own lives and fortunes. God forbid that we should have to use the blood of America to freshen the color of that flag; but if it should ever be necessary again to assert the majesty and integrity of those ancient and honorable principles, that flag will be colored once more, and in being colored will be glorified and purified.

Address made in Milwaukee, February 1, 1916.

We have been patient

THE Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy in which its own citizens were involved it has sought to be restrained from any extreme course of action or of protest by a thoughtful consideration of the ex-

traordinary circumstances of this unprecedented war, and actuated in all that it said or did by the sentiments of genuine friendship which the people of the United States have always entertained and continue to entertain towards the German nation.

The Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue; and that unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger- and freight-carrying vessels this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

Expresses keen regret

This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all

thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity, and that we cannot remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a nation, to our sense of duty as a representative of the rights of neutrals the world over, and to a just conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness.

Address delivered before Congress on the Submarine Question, April 19, 1916.

SINCE it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the

unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to *armed* neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

Address delivered at a joint session of Congress, February 26, 1917.

Definite concert of power

IN every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man must take that for granted.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war

might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

No organized rivalries

There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and coöperation. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

No peace without sacrifice

Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as

the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles

and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

Address to the United States Senate, January 22, 1917.

Overt acts

I REFUSE to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts

on their part can make me believe it even now. . . .

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people.

Address to the joint Houses of Congress, February 3, 1917.

THE supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together!

Conclusion in an "Appeal to the Country," April 16, 1917.

AS some of the injuries done us have become intolerable we have still been clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind,—fair dealing, justice, the freedom to live and be at ease against organized wrong.

We desire neither conquest nor advantage. We wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We have always professed unselfish purpose and we covet the opportunity to prove that our professions are sincere.

Principles we stand for

These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:

That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance;

That the essential principle of peace

is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege;

That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power;

That governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose, or power of the family of nations.

That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms;

That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety;

That the community of interest and

of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1917.

Warfare against mankind

PROPERTY can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of

the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations.

For the rights of nations

. . . We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. . . .

Sincere friends of the German people

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reëstablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are,

most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance.

The Call to War—from an address before Congress in joint session, April 2, 1917.

They are not our enemies

WE know now clearly, as we knew before we ourselves were engaged in the War, that we are not enemies of the German people, and they are not our enemies. They did not originate, or desire, this hideous war, or wish that we should be drawn into it, and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it themselves, as well as our own. They themselves are in the grip of the same sinister power that has stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us.

Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia, Bulgaria,

Turkey, or the ponderous States of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become a part of the Central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that originally cemented the German States themselves.

A Berlin dream

The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had its heart nowhere else. It rejected entirely the idea of the solidarity of race. The choice of peoples played no part at all in the contemplated binding together of the racial and political units, which could keep together only by force. And they actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution.

Look how things stand. Austria, at their mercy, has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. . . . If they

succeed they are safe, and Germany and the world are undone. If they fail, Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace, and we, and all the rest of the world, must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression. If they fail, the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we are born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

Speech in Washington Monument Grounds, June 14, 1917.

OUR object is, of course, to win the war; and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is won.

Full, impartial justice

We shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice,—justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect, our enemies as well as our friends.

It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula, "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities."

Germany's success by skill, by industry, by knowledge, by enterprise we did not grudge or oppose, but admired, rather. She had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world.

We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small. We shall hope to secure for the peoples of the Balkan peninsula and for the people of the Turkish Empire the right and opportunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure against oppression or injustice and from the dictation of foreign courts or parties.

We intend no wrong

And our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind. We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs.

The wrongs, the very deep wrongs, committed in this war will have to be righted. That of course. But they cannot and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies.

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary.

The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy.

Parts of an address delivered at a joint session of Congress, December 4, 1917.

Ruthless master of the German people

THE object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people.

The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people who have themselves suffered all things in this war which they did not choose.

We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong.

Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empire, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

Reply to the Pope's Peace Message.

WE have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggression. We are ready, whenever the final reckoning is made, to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judgment, if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice, even-handed and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time,

whatever the outcome of the war, would be to renounce and dishonor our own cause, for we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

Force, force to the utmost

Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

Speech at the opening of the Third Liberty Loan, Baltimore, April 6, 1918.

Concisely stated

AFTER all, the test of whether it is possible for either Government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent;

Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that—

Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of

any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states; and—

Fourth, that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed.

Address delivered before the joint Houses of Congress, February 11, 1918.

THERE can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must

be conceded them before there can be peace:

The ends fought for

1 The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

2 The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

3 The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor

and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

4 The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence: "What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

From his Oration, July 4, 1918.

Some of the particulars

THESE, then, are some of the particulars, and I state them with the greater confidence because I can state them authoritatively as representing this Government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace:

First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned;

Second, no special or separate inter-

est of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all;

Third, there can be no leagues or alliances of special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations;

Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the League and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control;

Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

No special alliances

Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms.

From his address September 27, 1918.

Answer to the Germans

THE President feels that it is also his duty to add that neither the Government of the United States nor, he is quite sure, the Governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent will consent to consider an armistice so long as the armed forces of Germany continue the illegal and inhumane practices which they still persist in. At the very time that the German Government approaches the Government of the United States with proposals of peace

its submarines are engaged in sinking passenger ships at sea, and not the ships alone, but the very boats in which their passengers and crews seek to make their way to safety; and in their present enforced withdrawal from Flanders and France the German armies are pursuing a course of wanton destruction which has always been regarded as in direct violation of the rules and practices of civilized warfare. Cities and villages, if not destroyed, are being stripped of all they contain not only but often of their very inhabitants. The nations associated against Germany cannot be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being continued which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts.

From his answer to the German note of October 12, 1918.

Must speak harsh words

FEELING that the whole peace of the world depends now on plain speaking and straightforward action, the President deems it his duty to say, without any attempt to soften what may seem harsh words, that the nations of the world do not and cannot trust the word of those who have hitherto been the masters of German policy, and to point out once more that in concluding peace and attempting to undo the infinite injuries and injustices of this war the Government of the United States cannot deal with any but veritable representatives of the German people who have been assured of a genuine constitutional standing as the real rulers of Germany. If it must deal with the military masters and the monarchical autocrats of Germany now, or if it is likely to have to deal with them later in regard to the international

obligations of the German Empire, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender. Nothing can be gained by leaving this essential thing unsaid.

From the reply to the German note of October 20, 1918.

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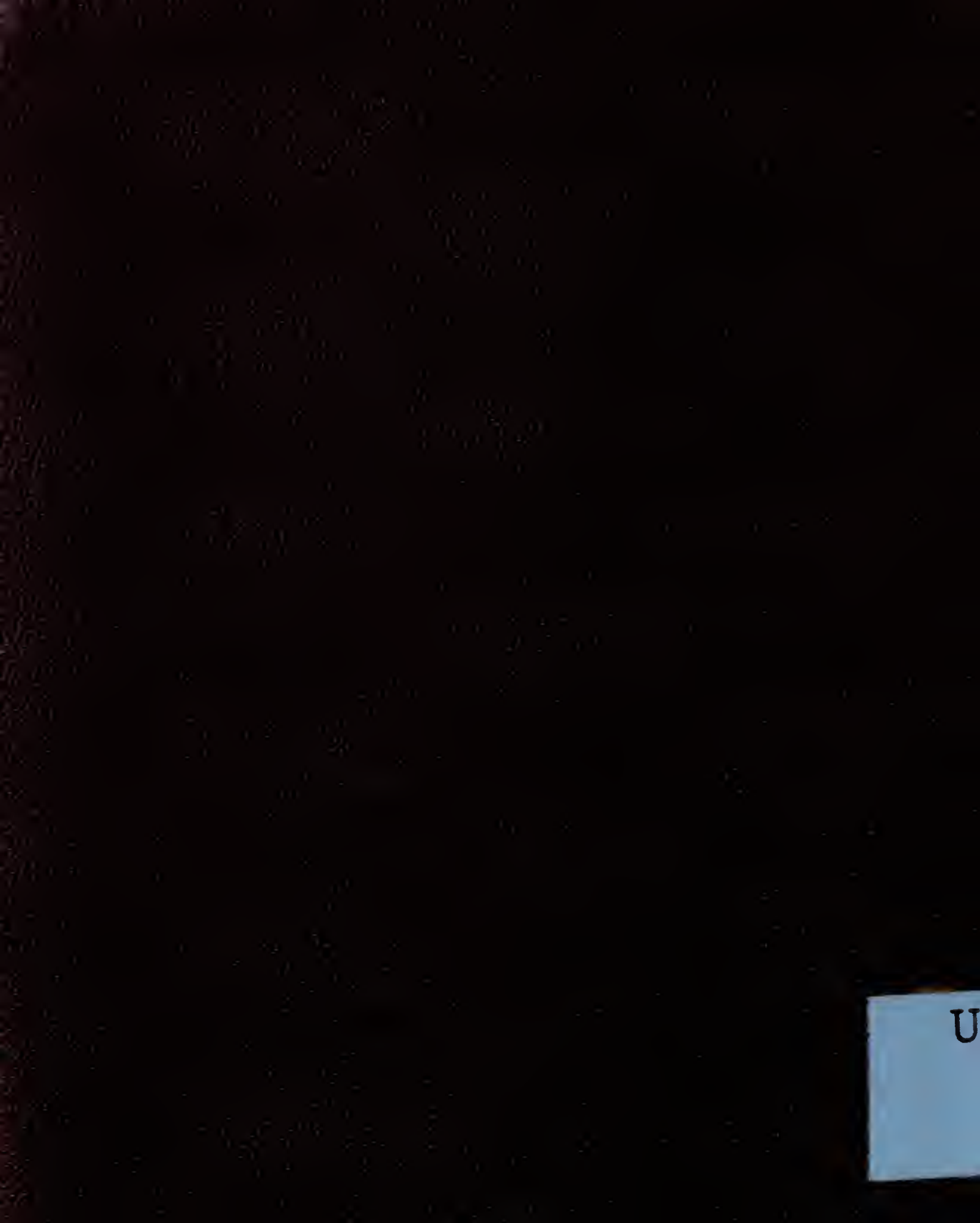
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